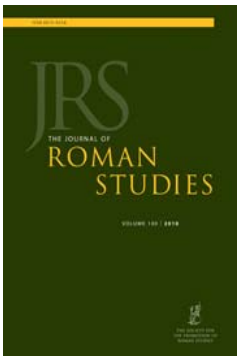
Hibera In Terra Miles: The Roman Army And The Conquest Of The Hispanic In The Republic (218-45 BC)



F. Cadiou, *HIBERA IN TERRA MILES: LES ARMÉES ROMAINES ET LA CONQUÊTE DE L'HISPANIE SOUS LA RÉPUBLIQUE (218–45 AV. J.C.)* (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez 38). Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008. Pp. xvi + 852, 26 illus. ISBN 978-84-96820-07-4. €56.00.

John Richardson

Journal of Roman Studies / Volume 100 / November 2010, pp 257 - 258
DOI: 10.1017/S0075435810000274, Published online: 11 November 2010

F. CADIOU, *HIBERA IN TERRA MILES: LES ARMÉES ROMAINES ET LA CONQUÊTE DE L'HISPANIE SOUS LA RÉPUBLIQUE (218–45 AV. J.C.)* (Bibliothèque de la Casa de Velázquez 38). Madrid: Casa de Velázquez, 2008. Pp. xvi + 852, 26 illus. ISBN 978-84-96820-07-4. €56.00.

The year 2008 was a productive one for the study of the Roman Republican army, especially in the Spanish *provinciae*, for it saw not only the appearance of the book by François Cadiou reviewed here but also Michael Dobson's *The Army of the Roman Republic: the Second Century BC, Polybius and the Camps at Numantia, Spain*. Both are based on doctoral theses (respectively of the University of Rennes in 2001 and the University of Exeter in 1996) and both respond critically to the fundamental archaeological work of Adolph Schulten, most notably at Numantia, undertaken in the first quarter of the twentieth century. That apart, the two books are very different. Dobson's approach is primarily as an archaeologist and an historian of archaeology, using Polybius' account of the Roman camp as a comparator, while C. focuses his attention on the literary sources, deploying archaeological evidence where required by his argument. As is to be expected in a revised and expanded version of a French *thèse*, that argument is expounded at length, and is central to the whole book.

C. begins by noting the place which has traditionally been given to the role of the Spanish wars in the history of the armies of the mid- and late Republican army. The distance from Italy, the continuity of the warfare, and the problems with terrain and the nature of the enemy have all been invoked to explain the peculiarities of the Roman experience in the Iberian peninsula and the need for adaptations which allegedly resulted. C. will have none of this, or at least believes that the picture has been drawn far too starkly to show a discrepancy between what happened in Spain and elsewhere. With a combination of the subtlety of argumentation familiar from the earlier work of his supervisor at Rennes, Patrick Le Roux (who has provided a typically elegant preface to this book), and a determinedly minimalist approach to the interpretation of the literary sources more often found in anglo-saxon historians, he works through the evidence of the army's involvement under three heads, providing the focus for the three sections of his book: armies at war; armies and territories; and armies and the provinces.

In his first section C. makes the point that the Roman wars were not, as sometimes presented, a continuous conquest of the peninsula over two centuries but a series of unconnected campaigns against a succession of enemies who, though different from those the Romans confronted in the eastern Mediterranean, were to a large extent based on urban settlements of various sorts. Although the distance between Italy and the Spanish provinces precluded the return of armies every year, the regular sending of *supplementa* of troops for which Livy gives evidence in the early second century suggests that excessive periods of service by Roman and Italian soldiery were not frequent and the form of fighting described in the sources indicates that the pattern of warfare employed by indigenous armies was based on ordered battles rather than the guerrilla tactics imagined by many modern writers. Indeed C. goes so far as to suggest that, insofar as guerrilla warfare appears at all in our sources, it may have been introduced into Spain by Sertorius in the 70s B.C. (221–7). In the matter of armament, he argues that the short sword (despite the name *gladius hispaniensis*) was a development already in process in the late third century and that in terms of military formation the cohort was gradually introduced through the second century in parallel with the manipular formation and owed little if anything to conditions in Spain. In the second section, he argues that the Romans did not develop a systematic coverage of territory with garrisons and that the *praesidia* mentioned in literary accounts are temporary establishments, designed to watch or protect positions and routes of importance for particular campaigns. He is also sceptical of either the upper town of Tarraco (Tarragona) or the area which became the Roman forum at Emporiae (Empúries) being originally substantial military encampments, preferring to assume that when during the second century commanders moved back to such places, the troops encamped further away from the urban settlements. On several of these specific points there is room for debate (Dobson, for instance, believes that the camps at Numantia show a change from a manipular to a cohort-based structure to the army in the late 130s, op. cit., 407–14), but the essential argument, that the Roman armies of the late third and second centuries in Spain, and down to the period of the Civil Wars in the 40s, were engaged in continuous but *ad hoc* military activity rather than the establishment of an army of occupation is well made.

The third section of the book, on the effects of the army on the development of the provinces, raises more difficulties. C. argues that the supplies for the troops, foodstuffs and other equipment, came mostly from Italy, but that grain in particular was sometimes shipped from other provinces and also gathered locally. This may be the case; but his insistence that the *stipendium* for the basic pay

of the soldiers was invariably brought from Italy is much more problematic. Although it is clear, as C. points out, that it was normal for the *stipendium* to be sent from Rome through the early part of the second century, it does appear that on some occasions a returning commander might claim credit from the Senate for not needing to draw on such funds (thus Q. Fulvius Flaccus in 180 B.C., Livy 40.35.4); and in the early years of the second half of the second century, when the *stipendium* was paid in silver denarii, there is a remarkable lack of such coins from sites is Spain. The most probable reason for this is that the *stipendium* was being paid with the silver coins, minted on the denarius standard, which were being produced at this time by indigenous communities (see M. H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic* (1985), 95–102). C.'s insistence that only Roman coins brought from Italy would adequately fulfil the symbolic needs of the *stipendium* seems unnecessarily dogmatic.

University of Edinburgh JOHN RICHARDSON
j.richardson@ed.ac.uk
doi:10.1017/S0075435810000274

A. H. ARWEILER and B. M. GAULY (EDS), *MACHTFRAGEN: ZUR KULTURELLEN REPRÄSENTATION UND KONSTRUKTION VON MACHT IN ANTIKE, MITTELALTER UND NEUZEIT*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 2008. Pp. 303. ISBN 978-3-515-09295-1. €49.00.

Political power is omnipresent in this ambitious volume. But, as its subtitle indicates, the main target of *Machtfragen* is the authority of representation. A fundamental premise is that text, images, and ritual should not be reduced to bare reflections of and reactions to political mastery. Rather, as clearly stated by Arweiler and Gauly in their introduction, cultural expressions are in themselves powerful constructs and deserve to be analysed as such.

Machtfragen is a collection of nine papers presented at a colloquium held in Kiel in 2005. The contributions appear in chronological order, with a majority of papers discussing Roman Antiquity, followed by analyses of medieval and early modern times. The book concludes with abstracts in English, notes on contributors, and a general index.

One aspect duly stressed throughout this up-to-date volume is power as a social act. Hence, communication and participation form key issues. In an excellent paper, Karl-Joachim Hölkeskamp underlines the importance of ritual participation in the Roman culture of spectacle. Hölkeskamp analyses ways in which the triumph, the funeral and the circus procession mirrored, formulated and strengthened the political Republican system, which embraced both an extreme hierarchy topped by an aristocratic élite, and a forceful inclusive idea of *res publica*. In the one article concerned with images, Rolf Michael Schneider also points out the importance of communication. His paper explores three quite different fields of Augustan artistic innovation: cityscape, portraiture, and images of Orientals. Among other issues, Schneider stresses the extreme launching of one man's face that occurred with Augustus in all media and all contexts. How did people react to the constant meeting with the emperor's never-aging countenance? Despite recent years' massive interest in the power of images in the age of Augustus, Schneider's essay suggests that there is still dynamic potential in the question of communication between portraits and people of this time.

Helmut Krasser argues that Horace uses participation as a forceful tool to construct his own role as literary architect. By setting out, in the fourth book of the *Odes*, to describe the Roman triumph from the view of a humble spectator, Horace, according to Krasser, invites the reader into a poetic experience that both commemorates and reshapes the celebration. Gerhard Fouquet also underlines participation as an active force in *Machtfragen*. His essay analyses the sixteenth-century chronicle of the Zimmern family. Fouquet shows how the chronicle worked with the prime values of that time, noble origins and aristocratic honour, to formulate family power.

In one way or the other, most contributions deal with the power of the text. Alexander Arweiler presents a theoretically elaborate study that strives to define and explore the power of literature in Late Republican Rome. By analysing different political concepts and terminologies, such as authority, sovereignty, and rule, Arweiler is able to propose tactics and strategies that literature employed to reflect, construct, reproduce, discuss and exercise power. Literature also has the power to construct the self. Bardo Maria Gauly contributes an excellent article exploring the self-praising techniques used in Pliny the Younger's letters to build the image of a *senator perfectus*. Gauly reveals three concepts in force: beneficial *munificentia*, *studia* (literary and rhetorical accomplishment), and